

## Message Text

SECRET

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ACTION SS-25

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SSO-00 /026 W  
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O 161513Z JAN 76

FM AMEMBASSY BONN

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 5699

INFO AMEMBASSY LONDON IMMEDIATE

S E C R E T SECTION 01 OF 02 BONN 00796

EXDIS

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PINT, US, GW

SUBJECT: MEETING OF EUROPEAN SOCIALISTS IN DENMARK -  
JANUARY 18-19, 1976

FOR THE SECRETARY FROM AMBASSADOR HILLENBRAND

REF: A. STATE 008875; B. BONN 678

1. I SAW CHANCELLOR SCHMIDT THIS MORNING TO SHOW HIM THE LETTER FROM YOU TO BRANDT AND TO MAKE THE POINTS IN PARA 2. OF REFTEL A, NOTING THAT I HAD BEEN ASKED BY YOU TO MAKE THIS PERSONAL APPROACH TO HIM ON YOUR BEHALF. HE LISTENED CAREFULLY AND MADE THE FOLLOWING COMMENTS:

2. WHILE HE THOUGHT NO HARM WOULD BE DONE BY BRANDT'S APPROACH TO DE MARTINO IN COPENHAGEN, HE DID NOT THINK IT WOULD DO MUCH GOOD EITHER. THE BASIC REASON FOR THE SOCIALIST DECISION TO END SUPPORT OF THE GOVERNMENT WAS DE MARTINO'S FEAR THAT THE CHRISTIAN DEMOCRATS AND THE COMMUNISTS WERE DRAWING MORE CLOSELY TOGETHER, IF INFORMALLY, BEHIND HIS BACK. THE ONLY WAY TO AVOID BEING SQUEEZED IN THE MIDDLE WAS TO TAKE DRAMATIC ACTION. NOTHING IN ITALIAN POLITICS WAS QUITE LIKE IT SEEMED, THE CHANCELLOR CONTINUED. THE CHRISTIAN DEMO-

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CRATS WERE NOT REALLY A SINGLE PARTY ANY LONGER, IF THEY

EVER HAD BEEN, BUT SIMPLY A CONGERIES OF POLITICAL FACTIONS FOLLOWING VARIOUS LEADERS. SOME OF THESE WERE PREPARED TO ACCEPT WHAT THEY CONSIDERED TO BE INEVITABLE COOPERATION WITH THE COMMUNISTS.

3. IN HIS (SCHMIDT'S) VIEW, THE POLITICAL SITUATION IN ITALY WAS NEARLY HOPELESS. AS A PARTY, THE CHRISTIAN DEMOCRATS WERE BEYOND SALVATION. THEY HAD SOME GOOD LEADERS, SUCH AS COLOMBO AND, IN HIS OWN PECULIAR WAY, RUMOR, BUT THESE HAD ONLY LIMITED INFLUENCE. IF HE HAD ANY ADVICE TO GIVE, IT WAS NOT TO TALK OF THE DOMINO THEORY IN THE ITALIAN CONTEXT. THIS COULD CREATE THE DANGER OF A SELF-FULFILLING PROPHECY IF IT BECAME WIDELY ACCEPTED IN OTHER PARTS OF EUROPE.

4. AS FAR AS SPAIN WAS CONCERNED, HE FULLY AGREED WITH OUR APPROACH OF NOT PUTTING THE PRESENT SPANISH GOVERNMENT UNDER TOO HEAVY PRESSURE TO REFORM RAPIDLY. THE SITUATION THERE WAS FAR FROM CLEAR, AND HE WONDERED ABOUT THE CAPACITY OF THE GOVERNMENT TO DEAL WITH CURRENT LABOR UNREST.

5. TURNING TO PORTUGAL, THE CHANCELLOR SAID HE ALSO COMPLETELY AGREED WITH OUR VIEW THAT THE PRESENT GOVERNMENTAL SITUATION HAD DEVELOPED IN A FAVORABLE WAY AND THAT ECONOMIC ASSISTANCE TO THE GOVERNMENT NOW HAD THE HIGHEST PRIORITY. HE COULD TELL US THAT A GERMAN BUNDESBANK LOAN IN THE AMOUNT OF 250 MILLION DOLLARS, AS WELL AS A SIMILAR LOAN THROUGH THE BANK OF INTERNATIONAL SETTLEMENTS, WITH PORTUGUESE GOLD RESERVES AS COLLATERAL, WERE BEING ARRANGED. HE LIKEWISE FULLY AGREED THAT SOARES' CALL FOR A SOUTHERN EUROPEAN CONFERENCE OF SOCIALIST AND COMMUNIST PARTIES WAS A BAD IDEA AND SHOULD BE OPPOSED. SINCE SUCH A CONFERENCE WOULD ONLY ADD TO MITTERAND'S STATURE, WE COULD COUNT ON GISCARD'S BEING STRONGLY AGAINST IT.

6. THE CHANCELLOR SAID HE WANTED TO ADD A FEW COMMENTS ARISING OUT OF HIS RECENT VISIT TO GREECE. WHILE THERE, HE HAD HAD SEVERAL CONVERSATIONS WITH PRIME MINISTER  
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KARAMANLIS WHO HAD IMPRESSED HIM GREATLY. CONSIDERING WHERE GREECE HAD BEEN EIGHTEEN MONTHS AGO, KARAMANLIS HAD MADE ASTOUNDING PROGRESS IN DEMOCRATIZING AND REVITALIZING THE COUNTRY. THE REMAINING PROBLEMS WERE GREAT, OF COURSE, NOT LEAST OF THEM THE PREVAILING ANTI-AMERICAN MOOD WHICH KARAMANLIS PERSONALLY DID NOT SHARE BUT COULD NOT EFFECTIVELY COMBAT, AND THE CYPRUS SITUATION. IT WAS A FACT, ACCORDING TO THE CHANCELLOR,

WHICH REALISTICALLY HAD TO BE ACKNOWLEDGED

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ACTION SS-25

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TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 5700

INFO AMEMBASSY LONDON IMMEDIATE

S E C R E T SECTION 02 OF 02 BONN 00796

EXDIS

NEXT TO KARAMANLIS, MAKARIOS WAS THE MOST POPULAR POLITICIAN IN GREECE. HE DID NOT THINK MUCH OF HIM, BUT THE ARCHBISHOP WAS A FACTOR TO BE RECKONED WITH. KARAMANLIS WAS THE BEST HOPE OF SOLVING THE CYPRUS PROBLEM IN A REASONABLE WAY, BUT, AS SCHMIDT UNDERSTOOD IT, THE SITUATION IN TURKEY WAS DISCOURAGING, WITH DEMIREL AND ECEVIT IN EFFECT PREVENTING EACH OTHER FROM DOING ANYTHING EFFECTIVE ON THE SUBJECT. THERE WAS A POSSIBILITY OF THE MILITARY TAKING OVER AGAIN IN ANKARA, OR AT LEAST EXERTING GREATER INFLUENCE. THE CHANCELLOR WONDERED WHETHER, THROUGH CONTACTS OF OUR MILITARY WITH THE TURKISH MILITARY IN NATO, WE HAD ANY IMPRESSIONS ON THIS SCORE. WERE WE TAKING ACTION TO ENCOURAGE OUR MILITARY CONTACTS TO ADVOCATE A REASONABLE TURKISH POSTURE ON CYPRUS? THERE WAS NO DOUBT IN HIS MIND, THE CHANCELLOR CONCLUDED, THAT KARAMANLIS FAVORED AN ULTIMATE AND COMPLETE GREEK RETURN TO NATO WHEN THE PASSIONS AROUSED OVER CYPRUS HAD SUBSIDED.

7. COMMENT: THE CHANCELLOR AND I DISCUSSED A NUMBER OF OTHER SUBJECTS DURING OUR MEETING WHICH I AM REPORTING SEPARATELY. HE WAS MUCH PREOCCUPIED WITH THE SURPRISING FALL OF THE SPD/FDP GOVERNMENT IN LAND NIEDER-SACHSEN, AND HAD A LONG TELEPHONE CONVERSATION WITH

HANNOVER DURING OUR TIME TOGETHER. SCHMIDT IS CLEARLY  
IN ONE OF HIS PESSIMISTIC MOODS ABOUT THE FUTURE OF  
THE WESTERN WORLD, AND ALMOST FATALISTIC ABOUT THE  
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PROSPECTS IN ITALY. HE CONSIDERS THE STATE OF THE  
CHRISTIAN DEMOCRATS IN THAT COUNTRY TO BE VIRTUALLY  
HOPELESS. ON THE WHOLE, HOWEVER, I THINK WE CAN COUNT  
ON HIM TO SUPPORT U.S. VIEWS ON THE NEED TO OPPOSE ANY  
ACTIONS IN THE MEDITERRANEAN COUNTRIES WHICH WOULD HAVE  
THE EFFECT OF ENHANCING COMMUNIST STRENGTH.  
HILLENBRAND

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